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A REVIEW  
— OF —  
AN ARGUMENT  
IN SUPPORT OF THE  
LIMITED POST AND TELEGRAPH,  
— BY —  
THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL,  
TOGETHER WITH  
Certain Appendices Relating to Postal Telegraphy,  
— BY —  
M. J. FRANCISCO,  
— OF —  
RUTLAND, VERMONT.  
— ♦ —  
SECOND EDITION.



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# POSTAL TELEGRAPH FACILITIES.

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HON. HENRY H. BINGHAM, CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE  
COMMITTEE :

*Dear Sirs :*

1. The argument of the Postmaster-General, favoring a limited postal telegraph service, addressed to you under date of September 25, 1890, sums up the evidence at the different hearings given to those favoring and those opposing the measure, and in the form of a plea for judgment. The Postmaster-General assumes and well sustains the role of Attorney for the people. Judgment, however, should not be rendered without hearing a plea for those of the people who are opposed to the measure proposed and advocated by the Postmaster-General. A question as important as this should not be decided without the fullest and freest discussion and criticism.

2. Knowing the value of *time* to Senators and Representatives, the plea in rebuttal will be confined as closely as possible to an analysis of the argument and evidence as submitted by the Postmaster-General, and, for the sake of brevity, as well as to keep the discussion free from personality, the term "the writer" will be used instead of the name or title of the Postmaster-General.

3. In examining a plea, *evidence* should be carefully separated from *assertion*. An assertion unsupported by evidence, in an argument made after the hearing of evidence, is a confession of weakness. If the assertion could have been proven, evidence should have been offered to sustain it. Every statement in his argument, unsupported by evidence, is an attempt by the writer



to supply by his own words that for which no proof could be found.

4. Words are not evidence. The value of evidence depends upon the truthfulness, opportunity for knowing, disinterestedness and judgment of the witness. One may be absolutely truthful, but lacking in judgment to a degree that would render his testimony absolutely worthless, for the reason that he would be lacking in ability properly to estimate the relative importance of occurrences by the observation of which his judgment had been formed. This is a defect that should destroy the creditability of a witness as completely as would a lack of honesty. A defect of this character may occur in the collection, presentation and summing up of evidence. This defect causes an honest man to do wrong when he thinks he is doing right. With these preliminary observations, the argument of the writer will be examined *seriatim*.

5. *Page 1, paragraph 2.*

"After standing for a year past in the midst of the controversy over postal telegraph that for over forty years has gone on with sharper tone and widening range."

This statement requires the writer to show, not only that public opinion in favor of a postal telegraph has been constantly increasing for forty years, but that this public opinion has been and is in favor of the particular form of postal telegraph that he advocates.

"Restoring the telegraph to the postal service."

One line of single wire, connecting the Washington with the Baltimore post office, would restore all the telegraph to the Post Office Department it ever had. That line was an experiment abandoned by the Government for lack of the courage, flexibility and persistence, possessed by private enterprise.

"To carry the postal system from pony-riders to stage-coach, and on to railroad service, and stop all further progress because 3,000 owners of telegraph stock oppose, is not in accord with the genius of our people or the spirit of the times."

Here are two statements. *First*. The stage-coaches that displaced the pony-riders, and the railroads that displaced the

stage-coaches, were, or are, all owned and operated by private capital. The Government has only used these facilities *after they have been created* and put into operation. The history of this development is an illustration, such as was never before witnessed, of the superiority of the freedom, flexibility and courage of private enterprise over the necessarily slower movements of Government action. *Second.* That further progress has been stopped by the influence of, or consideration for, 3,000 telegraph stockholders. It is by the use of the instrumentalities of private ownership and private enterprise that the genius of our people and the spirit of the times have been made manifest. This fact is the preventive of progress in the direction of Government ownership, not the influence of, or consideration for, telegraph stockholders.

"There is a deep and far reaching conviction among the people that the telegraph service is by right a part of the postal service."

If this be true, it should be proven by evidence.

6. *Page I, paragraph 3.*

"The will of the people in this respect has manifested itself unmistakably before Congress in public speech and statement during the last twenty years."

*Unmistakable* manifestations of the will of the people are recorded in Acts of Congress, not in bills, resolutions, reports, documents or speeches. Acts of Congress are not obtained giving authority of law to a doubted public opinion. It is to obtain such an act that the twenty years' effort has been made. This statement carries with it its own refutation. If the manifestations of the will of the people on this subject had ever been "*unmistakable*" in favor of a postal telegraph, it would have been provided. No argument would be needed to secure its establishment.

The evidence offered in support of this statement will be found in Appendix H (page 169).

Exhibit A (page 33), herewith, is a condensed statement of this appendix.

Table 1. Reports and other documents printed show :

- From 1866 to 1875, later included, 36.
- From 1875 to 1885, later included, 7.
- From 1885 to 1890, later included, 4.



Table 2. Bills and resolutions introduced show :

From 1866 to 1875, later included, 39.

From 1875 to 1885, later included, 25.

From 1885 to 1890, later included, 31.

Table 3. Speeches made in Congress show :

From 1866 to 1875, later included, 3.

From 1875 to 1885, later included, 4.

From 1885 to 1890, later included, 0.

These tables have been made to cover the whole period from 1866 to 1890 for the reason that one section of the appendix does so in fact, and it is assumed that the records were as thoroughly searched for the other sections as for that. If no entries are made for any year, it must be because there was nothing to enter. This exhibit does not sustain the assertions made in paragraphs 2 and 3, page 1.

7. *Page 1, paragraph 4.*

"This discussion, I honestly believe, must go on until the whole scheme is fully understood, and then will come the adoption of the people's postal telegraph. I feel certain that the people will not be turned back from their purpose to quicken and cheapen their methods of communication, and I mean to help them by every means at my command."

The writer's honesty of purpose need not be questioned. Upon the evidence of his own assertion, every motion to delay action for the purpose of thorough investigation and discussion, is a motion to establish the people's postal telegraph, and should not be objected to by the friends of the measure. A right cause never suffers from investigation. No man should be more truly solicitous to know that the proposed measure is absolutely right than he who argues so enthusiastically for it.

8. *Page 1, paragraph 5.*

"As to the constitutionality of postal telegraphy, \* \* \* the courts of highest appeal have settled this question.

"Congress settled it in advance of judicial action, by making the United States the owner, and the Post Office Department the manager, of the first line of wire constructed for commercial and public uses. \* \* \* I have had prepared and submit for your reference, Appendix F (page 146), which touches upon this consideration. The Assistant Attorney-General for the department assures me that the conclusion that the limited postal telegraph plan is constitutional cannot be resisted."

If the courts of highest appeal have settled this question, it is no longer open to argument. If Congress settled it by making the United States the owner of a line of telegraph, it also settled the question that Government ownership is not in accord with the genius of our people or the spirit of the times, because it ordered the line sold to private ownership. If the Assistant Attorney-General of the Post Office Department is a sufficient legal authority, his opinion officially given would be more pertinent than an argument.

Appendix F contains reference to decisions regarding the *control* of private telegraph companies ; an extract from a bill pending in the Senate, none of the provisions of which have become a law, until which time their constitutionality cannot be passed upon ; an extract from an argument by Gardiner G. Hubbard, heretofore unknown as a constitutional authority ; an extract from an argument by J. C. Reiff ; an extract from an argument by Senator Edmunds ; an extract from an argument by Representative Charles A. Sumner, of California, and an extract from an argument by Senator Hill, of Colorado.

Is it customary to introduce evidence on a question that has been settled by the courts of highest appeal? It is unnecessary to argue the constitutionality of a measure which, if the will of the people is unmistakably manifested, can easily be made constitutional.

*9. Page 2, paragraph 1.*

"It will be said that the discussion of this question during the present session and for the past thirty-five years is all to no purpose, because there is no demand for postal telegraphy. \* \* \* The telegraph service is not fully efficient. It is too high-priced ; and it can easily be shown, moreover, and shown by figures, which have been gathered from the telegraph business, as well as from other innovations of a similar nature, that the number of persons using the telegraph would double and treble very speedily."

The first statement is perfectly correct. Of the second, Senators and Representatives can speak from personal knowledge. Everything is too high-priced for the purchaser. Where the figures are to show that the users of the telegraph would double and treble is not stated. They would have a fitting place in connection with this assertion. Why they would double and treble very speedily is not explained.



10. Page 2, paragraph 2.

Postmaster-General Creswell is introduced by an extract from his report of 1872, as follows :

"I did not take my position until after repeated solicitation from people from all grades of society ; some rich, some poor ; some men in business, and some in social life ; some from the East, and some from the West ; nor until Congress itself had inaugurated and carried on two or three able and laborious investigations."

Does this tell what Postmaster-General Creswell's position was? The first paragraph on page 162 tells. It is as follows:

*"I am decidedly of opinion that, if the public interest requires a postal telegraph, it should be put entirely into the hands of the Government. If, on the contrary, a postal telegraph is not so demanded, then the Government should not favor one private company to the exclusion of another, nor should it in any wise enter into competition with private enterprise."*

In what way does this evidence support the limited plan?

11. Page 2, paragraph 3.

"Petitions from twenty-eight States and three Territories, containing many thousands of names, had been referred in 1875 to the Judiciary Committee of the House. \* \* \* These urged that the Government should then build a telegraph. \* \* \* The limited plan, the modest, harmless experiment, I think I am right in saying, might have been ten times more widely supported."

Why is not evidence produced to show that it is?

12. Page 2, paragraphs 4 and 5.

These paragraphs introduce the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance and the Industrial Union. Much is said about what they are doing. Nothing is said to show *why they are doing it*.

Messrs. Ralph Beaumont and J. J. Holland, of the Knights of Labor, are reported to have said, in February, 1890:

"We shall, within the next ninety days, be able, through the two organizations, to present to Congress petitions containing upwards of 2,000,000 signatures."

Have they done it?



13. Page 2, paragraph 6.

"The testimony of an undoubted expert in telegraph matters, Mr. D. H. Bates, \* \* \* described \* \* \* how the Baltimore and Ohio Company had adopted a partial mail service, by which a considerable telegraph business was created among 10,000 telephone subscribers within a reasonable radius of Boston. A lower rate for night messages was charged, and a lower rate where the messages could be delivered through the free-delivery post offices. Here was positive proof that extra facilities meant extra business."

Is this the reason why Mr. Bates is not now in the telegraph business?

"Mr. Bates declared, indeed, that these customers could always be counted upon; those disgusted with the delays and mistakes of the Western Union, those who desired a quick service when the monopolist lines are full, and those who believed in competition as a proper means of resentment."

What evidence has Mr. Bates given to show that the *modest, harmless experiment* could gain any of these three classes of customers? Has he shown that it would suffer no delays and make no mistakes? Has he shown that it would be a quick service when the monopolist lines are full? Has he shown that there are persons who believe in competition as a proper means of resentment?

These customers are already provided for. If they do not like the Western Union service for any of these reasons, they can patronize the Postal Telegraph Cable Company, or *vice versa*.

14. Page 3, paragraph 1.

"The measureless body of producers, in order not to be manipulated and robbed by the speculators, need to be nearer to the consumers; and the measureless body of consumers, in order not to be manipulated and robbed by the same speculators, need to be nearer to the producers."

When has it transpired in the history of the world that an extension and cheapening of the means of transmitting intelligence have tended to decrease speculation? A merchant doing a large business in a large city makes greater use of the mails and telegraph daily, than any 1,000 producers working on a farm or in a workshop; than any 1,000 consumers living on a farm or in workingmen's tenement houses.

Where John Jones on the farm and John Smith in the work-

shop could use the increased telegraph facilities advocated by the writer to protect themselves against the robbery so deplored, the speculator and middleman would use it a thousand times. The implied argument in this statement is a piece of sophistry so transparent that it cannot possibly influence any but the unthinking.

"I have referred to the fact that an acknowledged telegraph expert has proved that cheaper telegraph service has been demanded. I beg to give you a further illustration of the demand for a cheaper and a better service in the statements and memorials of the business men."

No evidence is required to prove that cheaper and better telegraph service is demanded. That may be taken for granted. Oliver Twist expressed the universal demand of humanity when he said he wanted *more*. Synonymous with this is the universal demand of humanity that all things shall be *cheaper* and *better*. The real thing to be done is to show the best way in which the telegraph service may be made cheaper and better. On a point like this, the evidence of an acknowledged telegraph expert would be very valuable. When has such evidence been offered? All that can be found from this expert is simply this: Give me franchises and rights of way free, that have cost private enterprises millions of dollars; give me offices, fuel and lights free, for which private enterprise has to pay thousands of dollars yearly; relieve me from all liability for damages, delays and errors, for which private enterprise is made to pay; give me a contract for ten years, making my monopoly of service in connection with the Post Office Department exclusive; give me, without cost, the prestige and influence involved in the use of the name and patronage of the United States Government, and I will build lines for the purpose of rendering a cheaper and better telegraph service. For all these valuable considerations, five cents per message is the greatest limit of saving offered on the ordinary message. For all that class of business requiring "a quick service when the monopolist lines are full," no decrease in price is offered, as the ten cent special delivery stamp, added to the cost of the telegram, makes the service cost exactly what it does now when sent by either of the principal telegraph companies. For that class who are "disgusted with the delays and mistakes of the Western Union," relief from all responsibility

for delays and errors, is to take the place of the responsibility now fixed on private enterprise. When has it been found, in the experience of public or private affairs, that immunity from mistakes has been secured through immunity from responsibility for errors? The rate proposed is to cover address and signature in the first twenty words. There are to be no free words in the message. Does not this telegraph expert know that the inevitable tendency of such a charge will induce abbreviation of address and signature, and thus multiply delays and mistakes? This shows to what degree of sophistry the advocates of this measure are willing to go, to give their scheme the appearance of reason. "Those who believed in competition as a proper means of resentment" are not counted, as one of the conditions of the proposed contract is that it shall be exclusive for ten years. That kills all competition. Under the guise of the "*modest, harmless experiment*," this acknowledged telegraph expert is lobbying for a contract for his personal benefit. He represents a syndicate who expect to be contracted with, and his testimony is offered as expert, disinterested evidence. Looked at squarely, purely as a business proposal, this "*modest, harmless experiment*" is a shameless, brazen endeavor to inveigle the Government into becoming a party to one of the most audacious, piratical wrecking schemes ever concocted by a band of speculators—robbers. Train wreckers seek to mask their identity only. They make no attempt to hide their immorality. These would-be wreckers attempt to mask their dishonesty by posing as friends of the people, intent only upon rescuing them from their oppressors.

This criticism does not necessarily imply that the writer of the argument under review is one of the wreckers. That he is being used as an instrument to wreck the private telegraph companies now supplying service, is as clear as the sun in an unclouded sky at noon of day, to all whose experience with, or observation of, such transactions renders them capable of passing judgment upon them. Whether he is allowing himself to be so used ignorantly or with guilty knowledge, is a question for him to answer.

15. *Page 3, paragraph 2.*

"I received during the spring and summer, without any effort on my own part, the memorials of some twenty-five or thirty boards of trade and



chambers of commerce from various parts of the country, supporting the limited plan which I had the honor to submit to you early in the session. I have added these in the Appendix B (page 16), which the incredulous may peruse."

An examination of Appendix B proves conclusively that the "New York Board of Trade and Transportation" worked the boards of trade and chambers of commerce throughout the country, not for the "*modest, harmless experiment*," but for government ownership. The model resolution sent out by this organization is as follows :

"*Resolved*, That this board reaffirms its previous declarations favoring the increased usefulness of the telegraph in connection with our postal system, and *although we would prefer to see the Government own and operate its own lines*, yet we welcome the proposition of the present Postmaster-General AS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, and heartily commend same to the favorable consideration of Congress." (Page 17, paragraph 4.)

If the people of this country do not want the Government committed to the principle and policy of Government ownership, they should not allow it to take the first step in that direction.

"Another evidence, and one quite as conclusive, appears in the record of bills, resolutions and memorials presented to Congress during the past twenty-five years. A record of these appears in Appendix G."

This reference is a mistake. The record will be found in Appendix H, page 169. An examination of these records discloses an attempt to make it appear that arguments or evidence in favor of Government ownership give support to the measure now proposed. The whole burden of proof contained in Appendix H is in favor of Government ownership, and not the "*modest, harmless experiment*" under consideration.

#### 16. Page 3, paragraph 3.

"I beg to call your attention to another thing, perhaps the most encouraging of all to the friends of postal telegraphy. It is the strong endorsement of the press of the country. Of two hundred and eighty-nine newspaper articles which have come to my notice during this discussion, two hundred and nine are for postal telegraphy and eighty against it."

The reason why no reference is made to the appendix containing these notices is not apparent. They will be found in Appendix C, page 22.

It is not probable that any Senator or Representative is un-

acquainted with the cheap and easy method by which clippings from newspapers are furnished on any designated subject at \$40 per thousand. The payment being by the piece, the search is most thorough. That it has been so in this case is proven by the fact that these "articles," as reprinted in this appendix, are in length from a single line to about two pages. This fact is further emphasized by the number of papers from which more than one "article" is furnished. It is, therefore, fair to assume that these "articles," that are "perhaps the most encouraging of all to the friends of postal telegraphy," contain all the evidence that can be secured in this direction.

What is the value of this evidence? To answer this question it must be analyzed. To do this concisely and clearly, find attached Exhibit B (page 34) giving a list of the papers quoted, the page on which the "article" may be found and the number of quotations from each. These papers are represented to be "for the bill or not unfavorable." The list embraces 144 papers and 207 quotations.

Exhibit C (page 38) is a list of the papers included in Exhibit B (page 34) that are quoted more than once, showing the number of times each paper is quoted.

Exhibit D (page 39) is a list of papers quoted as being "against postal telegraphy or not favorable," giving the page on which the "article" may be found and the number of quotations from each.

Exhibit E (page 41) is a list of papers quoted "for the bill or not unfavorable," and also as being "against postal telegraphy or not favorable," giving the page on which the article is found.

Senators and Representatives can quickly estimate the value of this evidence by simply reading these lists of papers from which it is produced. They cannot, however, comprehend its utter worthlessness without subjecting it to a most careful criticism. Such an examination will disclose the following:

*First.* That the so-called "articles" are, in the large majority of cases, not articles at all in the true meaning of that term. They are simply reports of what has been said by a few persons, and, in some instances, they are contributions over the name of the correspondent, or are credited to the paper from which they were copied. (See pages 37, 55, 75 and 90.) They do not give the editorial opinion of the paper to which they are

credited, and do not commit the paper to the support of the measure advocated.

*Second.* They are not all individual items. They are repetitions in so many instances, they give the impression that the papers from which they were taken are "patent outsiders." Repetitions are of too frequent occurrence to give reference to all. To illustrate, compare:

Wilkesbarre *Record*, page 42, with Dushore *Review*, page 45.

Altoona *Tribune*, page 43, with Karthaus *Times*, page 52.

American *Dairyman*, page 66, with Petersburg *Rural Messenger*, page 71.

St. Louis *Star-Sayings*, page 77, with Boston *Traveler*, same page.

*Third.* Seventy-two items show on their face that the writers give support to the "modest, harmless experiment," only because it is a *first step* towards Government ownership.

*Fourth.* Many items contradict each other on points of material fact. Compare:

New York *News*, page 72, with Scranton *Times*, page 76.

St. Louis *Star-Sayings*, page 77, with Boston *Traveler*, same page.

*Irish World*, page 97, with Brooklyn *Times*, page 99.

*Fifth.* Some items are unimportant or trivial. Compare:

Harrisburg *Telegraph*, page 65, with Norristown *Herald*, same page.

*Sixth.* One item makes no reference to the subject. See Newburyport *Herald*, page 76.

"In a second Appendix K (page 182) occur press opinions collected during the time of the great telegraph strike in 1883. I ask you to look these over. They show, as it seems to me, \* \* \* \* how powerful the press is when it is united, earnest and honest. Nine-tenths of the favorable clippings support the general or Government scheme. How much more strongly would they urge the limited."

Attached please find :

Exhibit F (page 42), a list of newspapers quoted during and after the telegraph strike in 1883, giving page and number of quotations.



Exhibit G (page 45), a list of papers quoted in 1883 in favor of government ownership, and in 1890 in favor of the limited plan, giving page of each quotation of each class.

Exhibit H (page 46), a list of papers quoted in 1883 in favor of government ownership, and in 1890 *unfavorable* to the limited plan.

Exhibit I (page 47), a list of papers quoted in 1883 in favor of government ownership, and *not quoted* in 1890 in favor of the limited plan.

These exhibits show :

Seventy-nine papers quoted 123 times in 1883 in favor of government ownership or control.

Twelve of the papers quoted thirty-three times in 1883 are quoted seventeen times in 1890 as being in favor of the limited plan.

Ten of the papers quoted eleven times in 1883 are quoted seventeen times in 1890 as being *unfavorable* to the limited plan.

Fifty-nine of the papers quoted seventy-seven times in 1883 are not quoted at all in 1890.

Of the seventy-nine papers quoted in 1883, but twelve are now quoted in favor of the limited plan, ten against it, and fifty-nine not heard from. Does this support the assertion implied in the exclamation, "How much more strongly would they urge the limited plan!" Why don't they do it?

17. *Page 4.*

This page contains nothing differing in character or quality from that before given. Mr. Gardiner G. Hubbard has said so much on the question, it is impossible for him to say anything new. The list of names of Directors of the Western Union Telegraph Company, by Mr. Thurber, is not very important information to lay before Senators and Representatives, as it is a matter of common intelligence easily obtained. The Directory of the Board of Trade and Transportation of New York is made up in the same way. It contains the names of the ablest men who can be induced to serve, and members of both political parties.

18. *Page 5, paragraphs 1, 2 and 3.*

These paragraphs contain a restatement of figures given in the published reports of the Western Union Telegraph Com-

pany, or other testimony, with now and then an original observation that may be strictly true. One striking point is that an investment in 1858 of \$1,000 in the stock of this Company, would, to the present time, have brought the owner \$150,000 in stock or cash dividends. This is certainly a certificate of good management that any directory can well be satisfied with, but it is no better management than can be found elsewhere. There are some wealthy merchants, a comparison of whose wealth in 1858, with their wealth in 1890, will show a still greater increase. Shall the Government, for this reason, be called upon to furnish stores free of rent, fuel and lights for nothing, and in other ways assist some would-be competitor to raid and ruin the business of the successful merchant? The people demand cheaper goods. Why not take this way to furnish them?

19. *Page 5, paragraph 4.*

"There is practically but one telegraph company in this country to-day. I say this because the Postal Telegraph Company has an arrangement with the Western Union by which prices are to be kept up."

On pages 191 and 206 of this pamphlet, the writer of this astonishing statement will find the opinion of the New York *Herald* and *The Public*, on this point, as follows :

"There is safety only in preserving, permanently, two competing systems, either of which must depend for its revenues and its very existence upon rendering service with promptness and fidelity."

These are the conditions under which telegraph service is being rendered to-day. What does an agreement between competing companies as to price mean, but the giving of the strongest possible inducements to win custom in promptness, fidelity, courteous and obliging accommodation? The rate established includes a profit. When the rate is fixed, the whole competition for the profit in the rate must be in the direction of giving better service. This is competition of the noblest and best type. It is the competition of merit, deprived of the factor of trickery in price.

"I have tried to show that the telegraph service of this country ought to be cheaper and not inaccessible to the people. Business men generally, and the industrial and farming classes, too, demand that the service shall be more efficient as well as cheaper. \* \* \* The Government, which has

not hesitated to use the stage-coach and the railroad train for its mail service, must come to the rescue. \* \* \* It must be a careful, inexpensive experiment, \* \* \* because progress does not go backwards."

How plausible!! What does this progress mean? Let the evidence offered by the writer answer.

*Page 42, Wilkesbarre Record.*

"It seems quite probable that some plan will be inaugurated that will lead to the erection of new lines of telegraph, to be leased to the Government for a time and eventually purchased by it."

*Page 43, Altoona Tribune.*

"But we hope Mr. Wanamaker will persevere until success crowns his efforts. Then let him go a step farther and plan a national express system, by means of which the public may be served at reasonable rates."

*Page 43, New Orleans City Item.*

"It is likely, however, that in the event that such a powerful competitor as the Government should appear on the scene, thus lowering the rates and setting the pace for all the other companies, some of the weaker ones would be glad to sell their posts and wires cheaper than the Government could erect new."

What do the honest people of this country think of this suggestion that their Government shall become a wrecker of private enterprise?

*Page 45, Dushore Review.*

"It seems quite probable that some plan would be inaugurated that will lead to the erection of new lines of telegraph, to be leased to the Government for a time and eventually purchased by it."

*Page 52, Karthaus Times.*

"But we hope Mr. Wanamaker will persevere until success crowns his efforts. Then let him go a step farther and plan a national express system, by means of which the public may be served at reasonable rates."

*Page 60, Manufacturer.*

"Mr. Wanamaker's project is for a postal telegraph in small measure; but it will come soon in large measure, and after that we shall have a parcels' post which will break down the monopoly now held by the express companies."



Another advocate of the wrecking of private enterprise by Government competition.

*Page 73, Elmira Advertiser.*

"The fathers of the Republic who formed the Constitution, did not see any obstacles in the way to prevent the Postmaster-General from organizing a stage line between New York and Philadelphia for the purpose of carrying the mails and passengers as well. The Government, as is seen, went into the business of carrying passengers, building coaches, buying horses and employing drivers in order to facilitate the speed of the mails. All this was equal to building a railroad or telegraph lines in these times to promote postal facilities."

*Page 74, Omaha Bee.*

"While we should prefer to have the Government purchase all existing commercial lines and supplant the existing telegraph monopoly by a telegraph system absolutely under Governmental control, the bill which Mr. Wanamaker has indorsed will go far toward giving the people cheap telegraph service and very much increased and improved facilities."

*Page 75, Memphis Commercial.*

"There is nothing surer than that the Government, in an extension of the most modern facilities to the people for intercommunication, must build lines of telegraph or absorb those of the Western Union Company at a reasonable rate of compensation."

*Page 80, St. Louis Star-Sayings.*

"In Mr. Wanamaker's present endeavor to establish a postal telegraph as an entering wedge toward Governmental control of the telegraphic business, the party has a chance to make its vaunting good."

*Page 80, Conschockton Recorder.*

"This is a step towards Government control of telegraph, and a blow at one of the greatest monopolies in the country."

*Page 80, "Iron Port," Escambia, Mich.*

"His plan is so framed as to avoid the great objection to other plans—that of employment by the United States of an army of operators— \* \* \* It is not satisfactory to us for that very reason, but we hope it may succeed in Congress, for we hold it inevitable that once embarked in the business to the extent proposed by Mr. Wanamaker, the rest will follow."

*Page 83, Denver Republican.*

"The country is rich enough to make the ordinary postal service all that it ought to be, and at the same time to extend to the public the benefits of the postal telegraph system."

*Page 83, Kansas City Journal.*

"When the Government goes into the telegraph business it should go fully equipped, and ready to perform at least the same service which the companies now render. And it should monopolize the field, not enter it as a competitor."

*Page 84, Attleboro Sun.*

"There is absolutely no reason why the Government should not in this, as in almost every other civilized country, control the entire system of telegraphs, and give to the public their use upon the same cheap terms that govern the transportation of the mails. To this end Mr. Wannamaker has exerted all the influence of his power."

*Page 85, Liberty Herald.*

"The correct thing for the people to do is to elect Congressmen and Senators pledged to the establishment of a Government postal telegraph system and also a package post system in connection with the mail service."

*Page 89, Bloomington Leader.*

"The passage of this bill and the success of the system, if established, would mean the future control of the telegraph by the Government and its use as an auxiliary to the mail service."

*Page 92, F. B. Thurber in Frank Leslie's Newspaper.*

"If, however, it be deemed not wise and practicable to take over all existing telegraph lines, then let us try the modified plan proposed by the Postmaster-General."

*Page 92, Bay City Tribune.*

"In connection with its consideration of this bill, the Senate Committee on postal affairs has received suggestions from more than one quarter that if we are to have Government control of telegraphing we should have Government control of telephones. And this seems to be a perfectly tenable ground to occupy. The telephone is of more universal use than the telegraph, and the monopoly of telephone service is equally grasping and oppressive."

*Page 93, Chicago Tribune.*

"Col. Abner Taylor is a convert to the idea of a postal telegraph system controlled by the Government. \* \* \* The Colonel has gathered a good deal of official literature on Government telegraphy abroad, and he thinks the evidence will show that the system is a success and worthy of adoption by the United States."

*Page 93, Indiana Gazette.*

"To a correspondent at peaceful Saratoga, Mr. Wanamaker unfolded some of the little plans nearest his heart. First, he said: 'The postal telegraph is bound to come some time. \* \* \* The people have the right to have<sup>d</sup> their information forwarded in this way as well as by mail, and I expect to see the time when there will be a postal telephone.' \* \* \* If Mr. Wanamaker wants to be President some day, he couldn't play a better card with the people than the institution of a postal telegraph and telephone. The Postmaster-General has another idea. \* \* \* He wants to make mail agents of country school teachers. He says: 'I will have the postmasters of these school districts send the mail for the families represented in the school to these school teachers, and will pay them something to give out the letters and papers once a day to the scholars to carry them home to their families. It seems to me that the postal facilities of the country might be very much increased in this way.'"

*Page 100, Brooklyn Times.*

"The telegraph business ought to have been a part of the postal department from the first, but it is not too late to begin even now by adopting Mr. Wanamaker's sensible suggestion."

This is the character of the strong endorsement of the press which shows what is meant by the progress that does not go backwards.

*20. Page 6, paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4.*

Here is the writer's own explanation of "what the limited plan is." It should be carefully read, as he ought to be the most able exponent of his own measure. The explanation closes as follows:

"But I beg to refer you to Appendix A, which is the bill itself, and respectfully to challenge the most critical to find wherein the measure fails to pay due heed to the interests of any persons involved in the experiment or in any way affected by it."

This challenge is respectfully accepted, and will be complied



with in a communication devoted exclusively to the consideration of the bill as presented in Appendix A, page 13.

*21. Page 6, paragraph 5.*

"THE OPERATION OF THE PLAN." This description commences on page 6, and closes on page 9. The only criticism is, that the writer speaks of "the operation of the plan" instead of its expected operation.

*22. Page 9, paragraph 1.*

"IT WOULD PAY THE TELEGRAPH COMPANIES." Here is a most interesting section of the argument covering nearly all of pages 9 and 10, to prove that the telegraph companies will make money by this measure. This is a curiosity. The whole argument and all the evidence is constructed on the theory that these telegraph companies are grasping monopolies, from which the people cannot escape unless the Government "comes to the rescue." Now, we are suddenly told that "the modest, harmless experiment" is a scheme to assist the telegraph companies to make money. It is a case of a child trying to get an eminent physician to take cod liver oil, assuring him that "it is good for Oo." If the telegraph companies do not consider the plan good for them, a thing it is impossible for them to do in the light of the character of the evidence submitted to support it, they will not take it on the recommendation of the writer. He ought to know this. He is not a child.

*23. Page 10, paragraph 1.*

This paragraph commences an argument to show that the measure proposed will secure a "more efficient as well as lower priced" service. This argument is supported by evidence covering the following points:

*First. Page 11, paragraph 1, Mr. Beaumont.*

"When operators belonging to District Assembly 45 of the Knights of Labor, noticing that the Western Union Company was paying great dividends on watered stock, and thinking that some of the workmen ought to share in this prosperity, struck for a raise in wages, Dr. Green did not hesitate to put boys and girls into positions of responsibility on a day's notice."

Does this disprove the statement that "it takes months to learn the telegraph tick?" Does it prove that these "boys and girls" were competent operators because they were so placed? Suppose employees in some large retail store should notice that their employer was getting very rich, while they were only "getting along," and every one of them should march out on a strike, would not the proprietor at once employ the "boys and girls" most available, and assure the public that it could continue to trade at his place and receive all usual attentions? Does any Senator or Representative believe such a change of clerks could be made without grievous inconvenience and loss?

*Second. Page II, paragraph 1.*

"One-third of all the telegraph operators are continually preparing themselves for other professions, and the other two-thirds are continually thinking of doing so."

This condition of things is attributed wholly to "the poor wage scale of the Western Union." The inference is that when operators are Government employees, they will receive better wages, more privileges and be more content. This inference confirms one argument against Government ownership. It is, that Government gets less work per dollar paid than private employers. Senators and Representatives will not demand proof of this. They have it in their daily experience with work in the Departments.

Good telegraph operators are quick, close observers. Their occupation educates them. It fits them for higher grades of employment. The list of professions that they seek, furnished by the writer, is proof of this. Will persons capable of ambition and trained to close application be deterred from or helped by Government employment to enter larger and more independent fields of action? This can be solved with a fact. Will the Commissioner of Patents kindly furnish Senators and Representatives with the number of examiners who have left the Patent Office within the last ten years to better their condition?

*Third. Page II, paragraph 2.*

"I cannot enumerate the devices intended to cheapen telegraphy, and distinctly not made use of by the Western Union at this time; but I ask you

to examine the appendix. \* \* \* I am sure that many of them are good, but they cannot be got into operation with the field monopolized."

The appendix referred to will be found on page 144. Here are enumerated sixteen different devices. It is best to ascertain what there is to prevent any company, firm or person, from taking one or all of these devices and erecting lines for their use. There is no law to prevent this. If the devices are so vastly superior to those in use, as their inventors enthusiastically believe, it would be a money-making venture. How many of these inventors are to find relief through the adoption of the measure proposed? If not all, will a list of those remaining be a reason for adopting some other measure designed to give relief to them. If the Government had retained absolute control of the telegraph from the first until now, does any Senator or Representative believe the list of unused inventions would be less than it is now? or that it would be easier for a new invention to get into operation with the Government monopoly than now, with a free field and several companies to compete for any device that will give them a material advantage? When has the Government shown itself to be quicker than private enterprise to discard an old and adopt a new method?

24. *Page 11, paragraph 3, and page 12, paragraphs 1, 2 and 3.*

Here is an explanation of personalities. Omit them. The argument is stronger without them. If postal telegraphy is ever adopted, it will be for some stronger reasons that can be found in an exchange of personalities between a former Postmaster-General and a former President of the Western Union, or between the gentlemen now occupying these positions.

25. Before considering the closing paragraph, reference should be made to the fact that Appendix D, page 137, and Appendix I, page 181, have not been referred to.

The following title of Appendix D is self-explanatory :

"Confidential letters, necessarily reproduced *anonymously*, received by the Postmaster-General during the current discussion."

Extracts are given from eighteen letters. If the telegraph companies have not made more enemies than eighteen, or if



there are no more cranks than this to write to a susceptible Postmaster-General, this intelligence will be a surprise to all persons in responsible positions. The real value of this appendix is in the fact that it furnishes additional evidence that every possible source has been drawn upon and exhausted to obtain even the resemblance of a support for this "modest, harmless experiment."

Appendix I, page 181, gives "Opinions of Presidents." Three from Ulysses S. Grant and two from Chester A. Arthur. These Presidents referred in their annual messages to the recommendations made by their Postmasters-General regarding postal telegraphs. It is difficult to determine why this appendix was inserted if not to be referred to.

26. Appendix G, page 149, gives "Quotations from Reports of Postmasters-General Touching Postal Telegraphy." Considering the source from which the evidence here offered emanates, it has received scant justice by the reference made to it in the argument. This justifies making a few brief extracts from it.

*Page 150. Postmaster-General Cave Johnson in 1845.*

"Experience teaches that if individual enterprise is allowed to perform such portions of the business of the Government as it may find for its advantage, the Government will soon be left to perform unprofitable portions of it only, and must be driven to abandon it entirely or carry it on at a heavy tax upon the public treasury."

In 1846, same page :

"It is the settled conviction of the undersigned that the public interest, as well as the safety of the citizen, requires that the Government should get the exclusive control of it (the telegraph) by purchase, or that its use should be subjected to the restraints of law."

*Page 161. Postmaster-General John A. J. Creswell in 1872.*

"I desire briefly to express my disapproval of the scheme proposed for the incorporation of a company \* \* \* to operate its lines in connection with the Post Office Department. It is not in analogy with the workings of the mail service in any important particular. In the latter, the Department transmits the mails under the charge of its own officers, and controls all the machinery needed for that purpose. In the former, it is proposed to make the Department a mere agent to receive and deliver telegraph messages for the benefit and profit of a private corporation. The terms of the proposed charter require the Govern-

ment to furnish stamps, stamped paper and stationery; to receive the message from the transmitter, take the pay therefor, see that the proper stamp is affixed, and hand over the message to the operator of the company; and then, at the office of delivery, to see that it is properly written out, enveloped and delivered. The Government is required to provide and equip suitable station-houses for all the offices, operators, instruments and batteries of the company. The Government is also required to keep and settle accounts as specified. Doubtless a most excellent arrangement for the company, but doubtless a most unprofitable one for the Government. \* \* \* The Government, inasmuch as it would deal directly with the parties sending and receiving messages, would be alone looked to for redress in case of default; and yet it would have no adequate power to compel the company to execute its contract. This would lead to endless confusion and inconceivable conflicts between the Government and the company, and would certainly result in great inconvenience and pecuniary disaster to the people; and before the expiration of the ten years of the contract, the Government would find that it had been fostering a mammoth corporation, from whose embrace there would be no escape except by buying it off."

*Page 166. Postmaster-General T. O. Howe in 1882.*

"The only security capital can have against these recurring raids is to surrender the business to the Government. The only protection the Government can have against these multiplied exactions is for the Government to assume the exclusive control over the transmission of domestic messages by electricity which it now has over the slower methods by steam and stage-coach."

*Page 168. Postmaster-General W. Q. Gresham in 1883.*

(The year of the telegraphers' strike.)

"Congress, by such legislation (government ownership), would thus enter upon a new sphere of action, which there is reason to fear would be the first step in a dangerous direction. The patronage of the general Government would be enormously increased, and its jurisdiction extended to matters heretofore confined to State legislation or private enterprise. The injurious tendency of such legislation cannot well be over estimated."

27. This review cannot be properly closed without making special mention of the mistakes and lack of accuracy occurring in the argument. This is especially demanded, as one of the pleas of the argument is for greater accuracy. Those who demand accuracy should be accurate.

*Page 1, paragraph 2.*

"Controversy has been going on for over forty years."

*Page 2, paragraph 1.*

"The discussion of this question for the past thirty-five years.

*Page 1, paragraph 4.*

"I mean to help them by every means at my command."

*Page 3, paragraph 2.*

"I received, without any effort on my own part, memorials from boards of trade and chambers of commerce."

*Page 3, paragraph 3.*

"Two hundred and eighty-nine newspaper articles have come to my notice during this discussion."

*Page 3, paragraph 2.*

"Some twenty-five or thirty memorials."

*Page 16, Appendix B.*

Only twenty memorials are quoted.

*Page 1, paragraph 3.*

"The will of the people manifested before Congress in public speech and statement during the last twenty years."

*Page 3, paragraph 2.*

"Another evidence appears in the record of bills, resolutions and memorials presented to Congress during the last twenty-five years."

*Page 3, paragraph 2.*

"A record of these appears in Appendix G." This record is in Appendix H.

*Page 3, paragraph 3.*

"Two hundred and nine articles are for postal telegraphy." But 207 are in the appendix.

These comparisons are especially commended to "those disgusted with the delays and mistakes of the Western Union," and especially the "no chronic kicker" who masquerades anonymously on page 139.



28. Page 12, paragraph 4.

"If others speak out for the telegraph stockholders, some one must stand for the people in the interest of the cheaper telegraphy that they want. I believe it belongs to this Department to take this stand, and I propose intelligently and persistently to keep this subject before you in strong confidence that it will not be long before your committee will take steps to give the people the relief prayed for."

Fortunately, the etiquette of modern discussion admits the calling in question a person's judgment without questioning his honesty.

There is but one fundamental error of judgment in this statement. It divides "the people" into but two classes.

*First.* Telegraph stockholders.

*Second.* Those who favor "the limited plan."

If this division is correct, there would be no need of argument. Senators and Representatives could not escape knowing, and knowing could not evade obeying the unmistakable will of the people. They are elected to represent and act for the people. The Postmaster-General is not. The fact that this measure did not originate with a chosen representative of the people, together with the fact that notwithstanding all his urging, it has made but little or no progress in winning support from the people or their representatives, should be sufficient to cause the writer to modify his claim that, in the position he has taken, he "stands for the people." The truth is, he stands for a very small section of the people.

On this question, the people may be divided as follows :

*First.* Telegraph stockholders. In this class, the writer says there are about 3,000. These certainly represent but a very small minority of the votes of "the people." As a voting power they are not worth considering.

*Second.* Those who favor "the limited plan" upon its own merits and disapprove the principle of Government ownership. In this class there are probably quite a number of very honest and well meaning people. It is difficult, however, to class the writer of the argument here, as the company he keeps forces the

conclusion that he must regard his measure as others do, only *a first step towards Government ownership.*

The evidence makes no showing of the number belonging to this class. It would be an interesting test of this point if the committees of the Senate and House, having this subject in charge, would ask the direct question of every person whose evidence is here given.

"Do you approve of this bill and disapprove of Government ownership of telegraph lines?" This can be very easily done, and, in view of the importance of the principle involved in the issue, should be done. Such an inquiry is especially desirable since, in his annual message, December 1, 1890, President Benjamin Harrison says:

"The Government does not own or operate the railroads, and it should not, I think, own or operate the telegraph lines."

It will be doing a good service for the President to ascertain how many persons who have been quoted by the writer of this pamphlet as favoring "the limited plan" do not favor the principle of Government ownership.

Take away from the measure all the quoted support that does not directly affirm approval of the principle of Government ownership, and not ten per cent. of it will remain to be included in the second class.

*Third.* Those who favor "the limited plan" because they consider it *a first step* towards Government ownership. In this class quite a large number will be found. Almost the entire quoted evidence belongs in this class. The process of reasoning by this class is:

The Government should own the telegraph because it owns the mails.

The Government should own the telephone because it owns the mails and the telegraph.

The Government should own the express because it owns the mails, telegraph and telephone.

The Government should own the railroads, because it owns the mails, telegraph, telephone and express.

The Government should own everything, because it owns one thing. Believing this, we advocate the adoption of "the modest, harmless experiment" as a first step towards Government ownership.

Many in the third class are persons who are not guided by reason, but by prejudice. They are led by any who will raise the familiar war cries of: "Opposition to monopolies." "Stop the robbing of the poor by the rich." "End the manipulation of honest producers and consumers by dishonest speculators."

They have not learned to "study in silence to know, know to comprehend, comprehend to judge."

*Fourth.* Those who disapprove the principle of Government ownership and, therefore, disapprove "the limited plan," because they regard it *as an entering wedge* to Government ownership.

This class embraces a very large majority of the voters of this country. The most feasible way of showing this at the present time is to simply direct attention to the following facts:

(a) There are upwards of 900 boards of trade and chambers of commerce. *Only twenty* have adopted resolutions favoring "the limited plan," or the first step towards Government ownership.

(b) There are over *twenty-five thousand* daily and weekly newspapers. *Only one hundred and forty-four* are quoted as favoring "the limited plan," or the first step towards Government ownership.

This leaves an immense majority to be heard from. I believe I voice the true desire of this majority when I respectfully suggest to Senators and Representatives that they carefully consider and adopt the only recommendations contained in this pamphlet, which have the stamp of well-balanced statesmanship. They are:

*Page 151. Postmaster-General Alex. W. Randall in 1867.*

"It has recently transpired that the telegraphic system of Great Britain has been put in charge of the British Post Office Department. It is a matter of very great importance, and its propriety and practicability ought to be thoroughly investigated by Congress. The most efficient mode of examination of the subject, in my judgment, would be the appointment of a special commission to inquire into the working of a new arrangement in Great Britain, and into its feasibility in the United States, and report to Congress for such action as may be wisely taken."

*Page 181. "Opinions of Presidents." Ulysses S. Grant in 1872.*

"I would recommend also the appointment of a committee or commission to take into consideration the best method (equitable to private corpora-



tions which have invested their time and capital in the establishment of telegraph lines) of acquiring the title to all telegraph lines now in operation, and to connect this service with the postal service of the nation. It is not probable that this subject could receive the proper consideration during the limits of a short session of Congress, but it might be initiated, so that future action may be fair to the Government and to private parties concerned."

*Page 162. Postmaster-General John A. J. Creswell in 1872.*

*"I am decidedly of opinion that, if the public interest requires a postal telegraph, it should be put entirely into the hands of the Government. If, on the contrary, a postal telegraph is not so demanded, the Government should not favor one private company to the exclusion of another, nor should it in any wise enter into competition with private enterprise."*

In line with these recommendations a Commissioner of Telegraphs should be appointed corresponding to the "Commissioner of Railroads" in the Interior Department, authorized and directed to investigate every phase of the telegraph service in this and other countries and to report results to Congress, with the view of intelligently showing in what way telegraphic facilities in this country may be made quicker, cheaper and more extended, with the sole object of thereby securing the best interests of the people.

29. Several distinct classes of thought-moulders are persistently promoting throughout this country a public opinion favoring municipal ownership of all works performing a quasi-public service. Such ownership of water works is made the basis for arguments for acquiring gas and electric light works. These in turn furnish reasons for the municipal ownership of street railroads, telephone service, and all other undertakings that necessarily make a special use of the streets and highways for the purpose of their business.

Those favoring the principle of municipal ownership are not satisfied to limit their plan of Government monopoly to the undertakings named. They are uniting their influence throughout the country to favor national ownership of all telegraph and railroad lines and numberless other collateral undertakings.

In the line of argument and action being carried out, the ownership of one undertaking is always used for an argument in urging the ownership of some other. Practically, an attack upon one at any point is an attack upon all others and at all points.

To successfully combat the growing tendency to communism, it is necessary that every interest shall join in laying the foundation for a strong and convincing appeal to the sound common sense of the people. This appeal must be based on reasons for a broad, comprehensive and clear-cut public policy that shall declare itself opposed to Government ownership of any enterprise that is essentially commercial in its character.

30. If others speak out for telegraph stockholders, and still others for those who advocate Government monopoly, some one must stand for the measureless body of producers and consumers whose only hope of independence is vested in the freedom of private enterprise. I believe it belongs to my duty as a citizen to take this stand, and I propose, with all the intelligence and persistence at my command, to keep this subject before the people, in strong confidence that it will not be long before it will be so understood that no enterprise that is essentially commercial in its character will be surrendered to Government monopoly, municipal, state or national.

31. The pamphlet under review illustrates and emphasizes the truth that a combination of two factors breeds the greatest dangers that threaten the prosperity of the republic. They are :—

- (a) *Honest Ignorance*  
in combination with
- (b) *Dishonest Intelligence.*



**EXHIBIT A.****APPENDIX H.—PAGE 169.**


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**BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS, REPORTS AND DOCUMENTS, AND  
SPEECHES IN CONGRESS, SUPPORTING OR OPPOSING  
POSTAL TELEGRAPHY.**

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**REPORTS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS PRINTED.**

YEAR.	NUMBER.	YEAR.	NUMBER.
1866.....	1	1874.....	3
1868.....	1	1875.....	2
1869.....	2	1879.....	1
1870.....	8	1881.....	1
1871.....	3	1883.....	1
1872.....	14	1884.....	4
1873.....	2	1888.....	4

**BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.**

YEAR.	NUMBER.	YEAR.	NUMBER.
1866.....	3	1880.....	2
1867.....	1	1881.....	7
1868.....	4	1882.....	1
1869.....	4	1883.....	4
1870.....	13	1884.....	5
1871.....	3	1885.....	5
1872.....	2	1886.....	6
1873.....	5	1887.....	4
1874.....	1	1888.....	14
1875.....	3	1889.....	5
1878.....	1	1890.....	2

**SPEECHES MADE IN CONGRESS.**

YEAR.	NUMBER.	YEAR.	NUMBER.
1871.....	2	1883.....	2
1875.....	1	1884.....	2



**EXHIBIT B.**

## APPENDIX C.—PAGE 22.

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 NEWSPAPER OPINIONS BROUGHT TO THE NOTICE OF THE POST-  
 MASTER-GENERAL DURING THE CURRENT DISCUSSION.
 

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 FOR THE BILL OR NOT UNFAVORABLE.
 

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NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE.	NUMBER OF NOTICES.
1. Altoona <i>Tribune</i> .....	43	1
2. <i>American Dairyman</i> .....	66	1
3. <i>Atchison Champion</i> .....	67	1
4. <i>Atlantic City Review</i> ....	67	1
5. <i>American Grocer</i> .....	73	1
6. Attleboro, Mass., <i>Sun</i> .....	84	1
7. Ambler, Pa., <i>Gazette</i> .....	85	1
8. Andes, N. Y., <i>Recorder</i> .....	86	1
9. Atlanta, Ga., <i>Journal</i> .....	88	1
10. Anniston, Ala., <i>Blade</i> .....	89	1
11. Baltimore <i>Herald</i> .....	23	1
12. Boston <i>Traveler</i> .....	26, 31, 77, 88	4
13. Boston <i>Globe</i> .....	28	1
14. Bellefontaine, O., <i>Republican</i> .....	29	1
15. Bloomington, Ill., <i>Leader</i> .....	30, 50, 89	3
16. Bellefonte, Pa., <i>News</i> .....	37, 54	2
17. Bloomington <i>Pantagraph</i> .....	39	1
18. Bessemer, Ala., <i>Journal</i> .....	44	1
19. Bellefonte, Pa., <i>Democratic Watchman</i> .....	58	1
20. Boston <i>Commercial Bulletin</i> .....	58	1
21. Burlington, Iowa, <i>Gazette</i> .....	89	1
22. <i>Bankers' Monthly</i> , Chicago.....	92	1
23. Brookfield, Md., <i>Union</i> .....	92	1
24. Bay City, Mich., <i>Tribune</i> .....	92	1
25. Boston <i>Advertiser</i> .....	95	1
26. Brooklyn <i>Times</i> .....	99	1
27. Chicago <i>News</i> .....	23	1
28. Cleveland <i>Leader</i> .....	26, 34	2
29. Cumberland, Md., <i>Daily News</i> .....	33	1

NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE.	NUMBER OF NOTICES.
30. Corry, Pa., <i>Herald</i> .....	36	1
31. Carthage, Mo., <i>Press</i> .....	37	1
32. Chicago <i>Mail</i> .....	47	1
33. Columbus <i>Journal</i> .....	49	1
34. Cedar Rapids, Ia., <i>Gazette</i> .....	70	1
35. Conschockton, Pa., <i>Recorder</i> .....	80	1
36. Clinton, Iowa, <i>Herald</i> .....	92	1
37. Chicago <i>Tribune</i> .....	93	1
38. Denver <i>Republican</i> .....	{ 27, 45, 56, 65, 67, 67, 71, 75, 83, 94 }	{ 10 }
39. <i>Daily State Gazette</i> , Trenton, N. J. ....	32	1
40. Detroit <i>Journal</i> .....	33	1
41. Duluth <i>Herald</i> .....	38	1
42. Decatur <i>Despatch</i> .....	38	1
43. Dushore, Pa., <i>Review</i> .....	45	1
44. Detroit <i>Sun</i> .....	49	1
45. Denison, Iowa, <i>Review</i> .....	50, 72	2
46. Des Moines <i>News</i> .....	84	1
47. Dover, N. H., <i>Democrat</i> .....	87	1
48. <i>Evening Capital Journal</i> , Salem, Ore.	47	1
49. Elmira <i>Advertiser</i> .....	73	1
50. Erie <i>Dispatch</i> .....	79	1
51. Fort Wayne <i>Gazette (Dry Goods Chronicle)</i> .....	70	1
52. <i>Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper</i> ..	90	1
53. Grand Island, Neb., <i>Independent</i> .....	96	1
54. Hartford <i>Post</i> .....	27, 86	2
55. Hutchinson, Kas., <i>News</i> .....	31	1
56. Harrisburg <i>Call</i> .....	37	1
57. Harrisburg <i>Telegraph</i> .....	65	1
58. Haverhill <i>Bulletin</i> .....	87	1
59. Holyoke, Mass., <i>Transcript</i> .....	89	1
60. <i>Irish World</i> .....	29, 97	2
61. "Iron Port," Escambia, Mich.....	80	1
62. Indiana, Pa., <i>Gazette</i> .....	93	1
63. Joliet, Ill., <i>News</i> .....	28, 94	2
64. Jacksonville, Ill., <i>Journal</i> .....	36	1
65. Kansas City <i>Journal</i> .....	32, 83	2
66. Karthaus, Pa., <i>Times</i> .....	52	1
67. <i>Keystone Gazette</i> , Bellefonte, Pa.....	54	1

NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE.	NUMBER OF NOTICES.
68. Kansas City <i>Star</i> .....	89	1
69. Kennebec, Me., <i>Journal</i> .....	90	1
70. Los Angeles <i>Times</i> .....	35, 75	2
71. Liberty, Ind., <i>Herald</i> .....	43, 85	2
72. Lawrenceville, Pa., <i>Herald</i> .....	54	1
73. Los Angeles, Cal., <i>Evening Post</i> ....	55	1
74. Lynn, Mass., <i>Item</i> .....	77	1
75. Liberty, N. Y., <i>Register</i> .....	93	1
76. Muncy, Pa., <i>Illuminary</i> .....	45	1
77. <i>Manufacturers' Record</i> , Baltimore...	47, 61, 65	3
78. <i>Manufacturer</i> , Philadelphia.....	49, 59	2
79. Marshall, Minn., <i>Messenger</i> .....	57	1
80. Macon <i>News</i> .....	72	1
81. Memphis <i>Democrat</i> .....	75, 79, 79	3
82. Memphis <i>Commercial</i> .....	75	1
83. New York <i>Herald</i> .....	22	1
84. New York <i>World</i> .....	24	1
85. New Orleans <i>City Item</i> .....	41, 43, 66	3
86. New York <i>Standard</i> ....	44, 78	2
87. Norristown <i>Herald</i> .....	52, 55, 63, 65, 89	5
88. New Port, R. I., <i>Mercury</i> .....	64	1
89. New York <i>News</i> .....	72, 87	2
90. Newburyport, Mass., <i>Herald</i> .....	76	1
91. Newark, N. J., <i>Journal</i> .....	81	1
92. New Haven <i>Palladium</i> ....	85	1
93. <i>Northwest Trade</i> , Minneapolis, Minn.	86	1
94. New York <i>Mail and Express</i> .....	100	1
95. Omaha <i>Bee</i> .....	24, 52, 67, 74, 76	5
96. Omaha <i>World-Herald</i> .....	32	1
97. Omaha <i>Democrat</i> .....	49, 69	2
98. Omaha <i>Republican</i> .....	82	1
99. Pittsburgh <i>Commercial Gazette</i> .....	22, 32	2
100. Philadelphia <i>Bulletin</i> .....	22, 98	2
101. Providence <i>Journal</i> .....	24	1
102. Peoria <i>Transcript</i> .....	33, 34	2
103. Palouse, Wash., <i>News</i> .....	38	1
104. Pittsburgh <i>Times</i> .....	40, 43, 82, 96	4
105. Pueblo, Col., <i>Press</i> .....	50	1
106. Petersburg <i>Index Appeal</i> .....	53, 60	2
107. Portsmouth, N. H., <i>Penny Post</i> ....	56, 61	2

NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE.	NUMBER OF NOTICES.
108. Pottsville, Pa., <i>Miners' Journal</i> .....	62	1
109. Pittsburgh, Pa., <i>Commoner</i> .....	68	1
110. Petersburg <i>Rural Messenger</i> .....	71	1
111. Portland, Me., <i>Express</i> .....	81	1
112. Philadelphia <i>Item</i> .....	87, 88, 95	3
113. Philadelphia <i>Call</i> .....	88	1
114. Pittsburgh <i>Dispatch</i> .....	96	1
115. Richmond <i>Dispatch</i> .....	39, 63, 64	3
116. Chicago <i>Religio-Philosophical Journal</i>	85	1
117. St. Louis <i>Chronicle</i> .....	24	1
118. San Francisco <i>Bulletin</i> .....	28, 97	2
119. Shelby, O., <i>Times</i> .....	29	1
120. St. Joseph <i>Herald</i> .....	34	1
121. St. Joseph <i>Union</i> .....	39	1
122. Seward, Neb., <i>Reporter</i> .....	39	1
123. St. Paul <i>Globe</i> .....	40	1
124. Scranton <i>Truth</i> .....	42	1
125. St. Paul <i>News</i> .....	46	1
126. St. Paul <i>Dispatch</i> .....	46	1
127. Santa Fe <i>New Mexican</i> .....	52	1
128. Salem, Ore., <i>Capital Journal</i> .....	54, 58	2
129. St. Louis <i>Star-Sayings</i> .....	59, 77, 80, 85	4
130. Salt Lake <i>Times</i> .....	68	1
131. Savannah <i>Times</i> .....	71	1
132. Scranton <i>Times</i> .....	76, 88	2
133. Sante Fe, N. Mex., <i>Review</i> .....	86	1
134. San Francisco <i>Call</i> .....	89	1
135. Troy <i>Telegram</i> .....	28	1
136. <i>The Telegrapher</i> .....	30	1
137. <i>The Journalist</i> .....	40	1
138. Titusville, Pa., <i>Herald</i> .....	57, 99	2
139. Trenton <i>State Gazette</i> .....	82	1
140. Talmage, Neb., <i>Champion</i> .....	85	1
141. <i>The Financier</i> .....	98	1
142. Washington <i>Gazette</i> .....	25, 83, 85	3
143. Wilkesbarre <i>Record</i> .....	42	1
144. Williamsport, Pa., <i>Republican</i> .....	55	1

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Total..... 207



**EXHIBIT C.**

A LIST OF PAPERS INCLUDED IN EXHIBIT B QUOTED MORE THAN  
ONCE, SHOWING THE NUMBER OF TIMES EACH  
PAPER IS QUOTED.

NAME OF PAPER.	NUMBER OF QUOTATIONS.
1. Boston <i>Traveler</i> .....	4
2. Bloomington, Ill., <i>Leader</i> .....	3
3. Bellefonte, Pa., <i>Democratic Watchman</i> .....	2
4. Cleveland <i>Leader</i> .....	2
5. Denver <i>Republican</i> .....	10
6. Denison, Ia., <i>Review</i> .....	2
7. Hartford <i>Post</i> .....	2
8. <i>Irish World</i> .....	2
9. Joliet, Ill., <i>News</i> .....	2
10. Kansas City <i>Journal</i> .....	2
11. Los Angeles <i>Times</i> .....	2
12. Liberty, Ind., <i>Herald</i> .....	2
13. <i>Manufacturers' Record</i> , Baltimore.....	3
14. <i>Manufacturer</i> , Philadelphia.....	2
15. Memphis <i>Democrat</i> .....	3
16. New Orleans <i>City Item</i> .....	3
17. New York <i>Standard</i> .....	2
18. Norristown <i>Herald</i> .....	5
19. New York <i>News</i> .....	2
20. Omaha <i>Bee</i> .....	5
21. Omaha <i>Democrat</i> .....	2
22. Pittsburgh <i>Commercial Gazette</i> .....	2
23. Philadelphia <i>Bulletin</i> .....	2
24. Peoria <i>Transcript</i> .....	2
25. Pittsburgh <i>Times</i> .....	4
26. Petersburg <i>Index Appeal</i> .....	2
27. Portsmouth, N. H., <i>Penny Post</i> .....	2
28. Philadelphia <i>Item</i> .....	3
29. Richmond <i>Dispatch</i> .....	3
30. San Francisco <i>Bulletin</i> .....	2
31. Salem, Oregon, <i>Capital Journal</i> .....	2
32. St. Louis <i>Star-Sayings</i> .....	4
33. Scranton <i>Times</i> .....	3
34. Titusville, Pa., <i>Herald</i> .....	2
35. Washington <i>Gazette</i> .....	3
Total number of Quotations.....	98

**EXHIBIT D.**—PAGE 100.

## AGAINST POSTAL TELEGRAPHY OR NOT FAVORABLE TO IT.

NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE.	NUMBER OF NOTICES.
1. Austin, Tex., <i>Statesman</i> .....	108	1
2. Ashland, Wis., <i>Press</i> .....	112	1
3. Abingdon <i>Virginian</i> .....	122	1
4. Atlanta, Ga., <i>Journal</i> .....	132	1
5. Bellefonte, Pa., <i>News</i> .....	109	1
6. Brooklyn <i>Citizen</i> .....	118	1
7. Belleville, Ill., <i>News</i> .....	119	1
8. Bellefonte, Pa., <i>Republican</i> .....	123	1
9. Buffalo <i>Times</i> .....	124, 125	2
10. Cincinnati <i>Commercial Gazette</i> .....	{ 101, 103, 118, 118, } 121, 121, 133	{ 7
11. Cincinnati <i>Times-Star</i> .....	108, 126	2
12. Clinton, Ill., <i>Public</i> .....	131	1
13. Chicago <i>Tribune</i> .....	132	1
14. Chicago <i>Press</i> .....	133	1
15. Cincinnati, O., <i>Post</i> .....	133	1
16. Detroit <i>News</i> .....	108	1
17. Detroit <i>Free Press</i> .....	112	1
18. Denison, Tex., <i>Gazette</i> .....	122	1
19. Dallas <i>News</i> .....	135	1
20. <i>Financier</i> , N. Y. ....	111	1
21. Fresno, Cal., <i>Expositor</i> .....	112	1
22. Franklin Falls, N. H., <i>Journal</i> .....	127	1
23. Florida <i>Times-Union</i> .....	133, 135	2
24. Galveston <i>News</i> .....	124	1
25. Houston, Tex., <i>Post</i> .....	110	1
26. Indianapolis <i>Journal</i> .....	106	1
27. Jacksonville <i>Times-Union</i> .....	115, 124	2
28. Lancaster, N. H., <i>New Era</i> .....	127, 133	2
29. Michigan City, Ind., <i>Dispatch</i> .....	105	1
30. Minneapolis <i>Journal</i> .....	106	1
31. Montgomery, Ala., <i>Advertiser</i> .....	128	1

NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE.	NUMBER OF NOTICES.
32. Milwaukee <i>Journal</i> .....	129	1
33. New Orleans <i>Picayune</i> .....	114, 116	2
34. Norfolk <i>Virginian</i> .....	117	1
35. New York <i>Times</i> .....	117, 135	2
36. New Orleans <i>States</i> .....	122	1
37. Newark, N. J., <i>News</i> .....	129	1
38. Omaha <i>World-Herald</i> .....	104, 120, 123	3
39. Oshkosh <i>Times</i> .....	129	1
40. Ottawa, Ill., <i>Journal</i> .....	131	1
41. Philadelphia <i>Telegraph</i> .....	100	1
42. Philadelphia <i>Record</i> .....	100	1
43. Pittsburgh <i>Leader</i> .....	101	1
44. Pittsburgh <i>Post</i> .....	110	1
45. Providence <i>Journal</i> .....	123	1
46. Petersburg <i>Index Appeal</i> . ....	125	1
47. <i>Rocky Mountain News</i> .....	116	1
48. Rome, N. Y., <i>Sentinel</i> ... ..	123	1
49. San Francisco <i>Chronicle</i> .....	101	1
50. Steubenville <i>Gazette</i> .....	105	1
51. Salt Lake <i>Herald</i> .... ..	106	1
52. Salt Lake <i>Tribune</i> .....*	107	1
53. San Antonio <i>Express</i> .....	108, 131	2
54. Spokane Falls <i>Review</i> .....	109	1
55. St. Louis <i>Republic</i> .....	110, 127	2
56. Springfield, Mass., <i>Republican</i> .....	113	1
57. Scranton, Pa., <i>Times</i> .....	131	1
58. Troy <i>Press</i> .....	105	1
59. Toronto <i>World</i> .....	126	1
60. Toledo <i>Commercial</i> .....	128	1
61. Utica <i>Observer</i> .....	130	1
62. Washington <i>Post</i> .....	136	1
63. Yankton, S. Dak., <i>Press</i> .....	132	1

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Total ..... 80

## EXHIBIT E.

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PAPERS QUOTED AS BEING BOTH FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE  
TO THE "LIMITED PLAN."

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NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE FAVORABLE.	PAGE OF NOTICE UNFAVORABLE.
1. Atlanta, Ga., <i>Journal</i> .....	88	132
2. Bellefonte, Pa., <i>News</i> .....	37, 54	109
3. Chicago <i>Tribune</i> .....	93	132
4. Omaha <i>World-Herald</i> .....	32	104, 120, 123
5. Providence <i>Journal</i> .....	24	123
6. Petersburg <i>Index Appeal</i> .....	53, 60	125
7. Scranton <i>Times</i> .....	76, 88	131



## EXHIBIT F.

### APPENDIX K.—PAGE 182.

#### NEWSPAPER OPINIONS COLLECTED DURING AND AFTER THE TELEGRAPH STRIKE OF 1883.

NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE.	NUMBER OF NOTICES.
1. Austin, Tex., <i>Statesman</i> .....	214	1
2. Albany <i>Express</i> .....	215	1
3. Atlanta <i>Constitution</i> .....	216	1
4. Adrian, Mich., <i>Times</i> .....	218	1
5. Albany <i>Times</i> .....	221	1
6. Baltimore <i>American</i> .....	193	1
7. Boston <i>Globe</i> .....	200, 214	2
8. Boston <i>Traveler</i> .....	201	1
9. Boston <i>Journal</i> .....	202	1
10. Buffalo <i>Express</i> .....	206, 220	2
11. Brooklyn <i>Union</i> .....	211, 220	2
12. Chicago <i>Tribune</i> .....	193, 195, 207, 222	4
13. Council Bluffs <i>Nonpareil</i> .....	194	1
14. Chicago <i>Herald</i> .....	202, 213	2
15. Chicago <i>Evening Journal</i> .....	203	1
16. Covington <i>Commonwealth</i> .....	205	1
17. Chicago <i>Press</i> .....	215	1
18. Davenport <i>Gazette</i> .....	210, 219	2
19. Denver <i>News</i> .....	210	1
20. Detroit <i>Free Press</i> .....	218	1
21. Easton, Pa., <i>Free Press</i> .....	204	1
22. Erie <i>Dispatch</i> .....	216	1
23. Florida <i>Times-Union</i> .....	210	1
24. Galveston <i>News</i> .....	211, 212, 220	3
25. Hartford <i>Times</i> .....	204	1
26. <i>Harper's Weekly</i> .....	217	1
27. Indianapolis <i>Times</i> .....	198, 204, 209, 214, 220	5
28. Kansas City <i>Times</i> .....	212	1

NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE.	NUMBER OF NOTICES.
29. Lockport <i>Union</i> .....	217	1
30. Montreal <i>Gazette</i> .....	195	1
31. Memphis <i>Appeal</i> .....	197, 205, 213	3
32. Montreal <i>Witness</i> .....	198	1
33. Mobile <i>Register</i> .....	200, 216	2
34. Macon, Ga., <i>Telegraph</i> .....	221	1
35. New York <i>Herald</i> .....	{ 182, 184, 185, 186, } 188, 188, 189, 190, } 190, 192, 192, 221 }	12
36. New Haven <i>Palladium</i> .....	194, 197, 203, 217, 217	5
37. New Haven <i>Journal and Courier</i> ....	195	1
38. Nashville <i>Banner</i> .....	197	1
39. New York <i>Star</i> .....	198, 200, 205, 208, 219	5
40. New York <i>Evening Post</i> .....	199, 211	2
41. New Haven <i>News</i> .....	201, 214	2
42. Nashville <i>American</i> .....	205	1
43. Newburyport <i>Herald</i> .....	205, 210	2
44. New York <i>Sun</i> .....	209	1
45. New Bedford <i>Mercury</i> .....	216	1
46. New Orleans <i>Times-Democrat</i> .....	219	1
47. Oakland <i>Transcript</i> .....	218	1
48. Patterson <i>Press</i> .....	199	1
49. Pottsville <i>Miners' Journal</i> .....	206	1
50. Philadelphia <i>Press</i> .....	215	1
51. Providence <i>Press</i> .....	215	1
52. Philadelphia <i>Times</i> .....	215	1
53. Pittsburgh <i>Dispatch</i> .....	219	1
54. Richmond <i>State</i> .....	200	1
55. Reading <i>Times</i> .....	200	1
56. Rome <i>Sentinel</i> .....	202, 205, 221	3
57. Rochester <i>Union and Advertiser</i> ....	213	1
58. Rochester <i>Herald</i> .....	218	1
59. Richmond <i>Dispatch</i> .....	219	1
60. St. Paul <i>Pioneer Press</i> .....	198	1
61. Salt Lake <i>Tribune</i> .....	202	1
62. Springfield <i>Republican</i> .....	204	1
63. Sacramento <i>Record-Union</i> .....	211	1
64. San Francisco <i>Post</i> .....	213, 218	2
65. San Francisco <i>Examiner</i> .....	216	1

NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE.	NUMBER OF NOTICES.
66. St. John, N. B., <i>Sun</i> .....	220	1
67. Trenton <i>State Gazette</i> .....	197, 199	2
68. Troy <i>Budget</i> .....	203	1
69. <i>The Public</i> , N. Y.....	206	1
70. Trenton <i>Times</i> .....	210	1
71. Troy <i>Telegram</i> .....	214	1
72. Vicksburg <i>Herald</i> .....	196	1
73. Virginia City <i>Territorial Enterprise</i> ..	220	1
74. Worcester <i>Spy</i> .....	196	1
75. Waterbury <i>American</i> .....	297, 217	2
76. Washington <i>Star</i> .....	199	1
77. Washington <i>Post</i> .....	202	1
78. Wheeling <i>Register</i> .....	203	1
79. Washington <i>Sunday Herald</i> .....	214	1
Total .....		123

## EXHIBIT G.

PAPERS QUOTED IN 1883 IN FAVOR OF GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP,  
AND IN 1890 IN FAVOR OF THE "LIMITED PLAN."

NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE	PAGE OF NOTICE
	1883.	1890.
1. Boston <i>Traveler</i> .....	201	26, 31, 77, 88
2. Boston <i>Globe</i> .....	200, 214	28
3. Chicago <i>Tribune</i> .....	195, 207, 193, 222	93
4. Erie <i>Dispatch</i> .....	216	79
5. New York <i>Herald</i> .....	{ 182, 184, 185, 186, 188, 188, 189, 190, 190, 192, 192, 221 }	{ 22
6. Newburyport <i>Herald</i> . ....		
7. New Haven <i>Palladium</i> .....		
8. Pottsville, Pa., <i>Miners' Journal</i> .....	206	62
9. Pittsburgh <i>Dispatch</i> .....	219	96
10. Richmond <i>Dispatch</i> .....	219	39, 63, 64
11. Troy <i>Telegram</i> .....	214	28
12. Trenton <i>State Gazette</i> .....	197, 199	82



## EXHIBIT H.

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PAPERS QUOTED IN 1883 IN FAVOR OF GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP,  
AND IN 1890 UNFAVORABLE TO THE "LIMITED PLAN."

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NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE 1883.	PAGE OF NOTICE 1890.
1. Austin, Tex., <i>Statesman</i> .....	108	214
2. Chicago <i>Tribune</i> .....	132	193, 195, 207, 222
3. Chicago <i>Press</i> .....	133	215
4. Detroit <i>Free Press</i> .....	112	218
5. Florida <i>Times-Union</i> .....	133, 135	210
6. Galveston <i>News</i> .....	124	211, 212, 220
7. Rome, N. Y., <i>Sentinel</i> .....	123	202, 205, 211
8. Salt Lake <i>Tribune</i> .....	107	202
9. Springfield <i>Republican</i> .....	113	204
10. Washington <i>Post</i> .....	136	202

## EXHIBIT I.

PAPERS QUOTED IN 1883 IN FAVOR OF GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP,  
AND NOT QUOTED IN 1890 FOR THE "LIMITED PLAN."

NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE.	NUMBER OF NOTICES.
1. Albany <i>Express</i> .....	215	1
2. Atlanta <i>Constitution</i> .....	216	1
3. Adrian, Mich., <i>Times</i> .....	218	1
4. Albany <i>Times</i> .....	221	1
5. Baltimore <i>American</i> .....	193	1
6. Boston <i>Journal</i> .....	202	1
7. Buffalo <i>Express</i> .....	206, 220	2
8. Brooklyn <i>Union</i> .....	211, 220	2
9. Council Bluffs <i>Nonpareil</i> .....	194	1
10. Chicago <i>Herald</i> .....	202, 213	2
11. Chicago <i>Evening Journal</i> .....	203	1
12. Covington <i>Commonwealth</i> .....	205	1
13. Davenport <i>Gazette</i> .....	210, 219	2
14. Denver <i>News</i> .....	210	1
15. Easton, Pa., <i>Free Press</i> .....	204	1
16. Hartford <i>Times</i> .....	204	1
17. <i>Harper's Weekly</i> .....	217	1
18. Indianapolis <i>Times</i> .....	198, 204, 209, 214, 220, 5	5
19. Kansas City <i>Times</i> .....	212	1
20. Lockport <i>Union</i> .....	217	1
21. Montreal <i>Gazette</i> .....	195	1
22. Memphis <i>Appeal</i> .....	197, 205, 213	3
23. Montreal <i>Witness</i> .....	198	1
24. Mobile <i>Register</i> .....	200, 216	2
25. Macon, Ga., <i>Telegraph</i> .....	221	1
26. New Haven <i>Journal and Courier</i> ....	195	1
27. Nashville <i>Banner</i> .....	197	1
28. New York <i>Star</i> .....	198, 200, 205, 208, 219, 5	5
29. New York <i>Evening Post</i> .....	199, 211	2
30. New Haven <i>News</i> .....	201, 214	2

NAME OF PAPER.	PAGE OF NOTICE.	NUMBER OF NOTICES.
31. Nashville <i>American</i> .....	205	I
32. New York <i>Sun</i> .....	209	I
33. New Bedford <i>Mercury</i> .....	216	I
34. New Orleans <i>Times-Democrat</i> .....	219	I
35. Oakland <i>Transcript</i> .....	218	I
36. Paterson <i>Press</i> .....	199	I
37. Philadelphia <i>Press</i> .....	215	I
38. Providence <i>Press</i> .....	215	I
39. Philadelphia <i>Times</i> .....	215	I
40. Richmond <i>State</i> .....	200	I
41. Reading <i>Times</i> .....	200	I
42. Rochester <i>Union and Advertiser</i> ....	213	I
43. Rochester <i>Herald</i> .....	218	I
44. St. Paul <i>Pioneer Press</i> .....	198	I
45. Sacramento <i>Record Union</i> .....	111	I
46. San Francisco <i>Post</i> .....	213, 218	2
47. San Francisco <i>Examiner</i> .....	216	I
48. St. John, N. B., <i>Sun</i> .....	220	I
49. Troy <i>Budget</i> .....	203	I
50. <i>The Public</i> , New York.....	206	I
51. Trenton <i>Times</i> .....	210	I
52. Vicksburg <i>Herald</i> ....	196	I
53. Virginia City <i>Territorial Enterprise</i> .	220	I
54. Worcester <i>Spy</i> .....	196	I
55. Waterbury <i>American</i> .....	197, 217	2
56. Washington <i>Star</i> .....	199	I
57. Wheeling <i>Register</i> .....	203	I
58. Washington <i>Sunday Herald</i> .....	214	I

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Total ..... 77